

University of Windsor

Scholarship at UWindor

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Theses, Dissertations, and Major Papers

1995

Media portrayal of police: A content analysis of the "Toronto Star", the "Toronto Sun" and "Now" (Ontario).

Julie Elizabeth. Porter
University of Windsor

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd>

Recommended Citation

Porter, Julie Elizabeth., "Media portrayal of police: A content analysis of the "Toronto Star", the "Toronto Sun" and "Now" (Ontario)." (1995). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 2695.
<https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd/2695>

This online database contains the full-text of PhD dissertations and Masters' theses of University of Windsor students from 1954 forward. These documents are made available for personal study and research purposes only, in accordance with the Canadian Copyright Act and the Creative Commons license—CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivative Works). Under this license, works must always be attributed to the copyright holder (original author), cannot be used for any commercial purposes, and may not be altered. Any other use would require the permission of the copyright holder. Students may inquire about withdrawing their dissertation and/or thesis from this database. For additional inquiries, please contact the repository administrator via email (scholarship@uwindsor.ca) or by telephone at 519-253-3000ext. 3208.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

Media Portrayal of Police:
A Content Analysis of The Toronto Star,
The Toronto Sun and NOW.

By

Julie E. Porter

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the
Department of Sociology in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts at
The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1994

(c) 1995, J. Porter



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN
IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE
LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL
LIBRARY OF CANADA TO
REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR
SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY
ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR
FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS
AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED
PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE
IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE
PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE
NATIONALE DU CANADA DE
REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER
OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA
THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET
SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT
POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE
CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES
PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP
OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER
THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR
SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT
MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE
REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER
PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE
DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE
SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES
EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-
CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU
AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON
AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-01478-9

Canada

Name Julia E. Porter

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

Sociology

SUBJECT TERM

0626

U·M·I

SUBJECT CODE

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
Art History 0377
Art 0900
Cinema 0378
Dance 0357
Fine Arts 0723
Information Science 0391
Journalism 0399
Library Science 0708
Mass Communications 0413
Music 0459
Speech Communication 0465
Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
Administration 0514
Adult and Continuing 0516
Agricultural 0517
Art 0273
Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
Business 0688
Community College 0275
Curriculum and Instruction 0727
Early Childhood 0518
Elementary 0524
Finance 0277
Guidance and Counseling 0519
Health 0680
Higher 0745
History of 0520
Home Economics 0278
Industrial 0521
Language and Literature 0279
Mathematics 0280
Music 0522
Philosophy of 0998
Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
Reading 0535
Religious 0527
Sciences 0714
Secondary 0533
Social Sciences 0534
Sociology of 0340
Special 0529
Teacher Training 0530
Technology 0710
Tests and Measurements 0288
Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language 0679
General 0289
Ancient 0290
Linguistics 0291
Modern 0401
Literature 0294
Classical 0295
Comparative 0297
Medieval 0298
Modern 0316
African 0591
American 0305
Asian 0352
Canadian (English) 0355
Canadian (French) 0593
English 0311
Germanic 0312
Latin American 0315
Middle Eastern 0313
Romance 0314
Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
Religion 0318
General 0321
Biblical Studies 0319
Clergy 0320
History of 0322
Philosophy of 0469
Theology 0323

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
Anthropology 0324
Archaeology 0326
Cultural 0327
Physical 0310
Business Administration 0272
General 0770
Accounting 0454
Banking 0338
Marketing 0385
Canadian Studies 0501
Economics 0503
General 0505
Agricultural 0508
Commerce-Business 0509
Finance 0510
History 0511
Labor 0358
Theory 0366
Folklore 0351
Geography 0578
Gerontology 0578
History 0578
General 0578

Ancient 0579
Medieval 0581
Modern 0582
Block 0328
African 0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
Canadian 0334
European 0335
Latin American 0336
Middle Eastern 0337
United States 0585
History of Science 0398
Law 0615
Political Science 0616
General 0617
International Law and Relations 0814
Public Administration 0452
Recreation 0626
Social Work 0627
Sociology 0938
General 0631
Criminology and Penology 0628
Demography 0629
Ethnic and Racial Studies 0630
Individual and Family Studies 0700
Industrial and Labor Relations 0344
Public and Social Welfare 0709
Social Structure and Development 0999
Theory and Methods 0453
Transportation 0453
Urban and Regional Planning 0453
Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture 0473
General 0285
Agronomy 0475
Animal Culture and Nutrition 0476
Animal Pathology 0359
Food Science and Technology 0478
Forestry and Wildlife 0479
Plant Culture 0480
Plant Pathology 0817
Plant Physiology 0777
Range Management 0746
Wood Technology 0306

Biology

General 0287
Anatomy 0308
Biostatistics 0309
Botany 0379
Cell 0329
Ecology 0353
Entomology 0369
Genetics 0793
Limnology 0410
Microbiology 0307
Molecular 0317
Neuroscience 0416
Oceanography 0433
Physiology 0821
Radiation 0778
Veterinary Science 0472
Zoology 0786
Biophysics 0760
General 0425
Medical 0996

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry 0425
Geochemistry 0996

Geodesy 0370
Geology 0372
Geophysics 0373
Hydrology 0388
Mineralogy 0411
Paleobotany 0345
Paleoecology 0426
Paleontology 0418
Paleozoology 0985
Palynology 0427
Physical Geography 0368
Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
Health Sciences 0566
General 0300
Audiology 0992
Chemotherapy 0567
Dentistry 0350
Education 0769
Hospital Management 0758
Human Development 0982
Immunology 0564
Medicine and Surgery 0347
Mental Health 0569
Nursing 0570
Nutrition 0380
Obstetrics and Gynecology 0354
Occupational Health and Therapy 0381
Ophthalmology 0571
Pathology 0419
Pharmacology 0572
Pharmacy 0382
Physical Therapy 0573
Public Health 0574
Radiology 0575
Recreation 0460
Speech Pathology 0383
Toxicology 0386
Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

Chemistry 0485
General 0749
Agricultural 0486
Analytical 0487
Biochemistry 0488
Inorganic 0738
Nuclear 0490
Organic 0491
Pharmaceutical 0494
Physical 0495
Polymer 0754
Radiation 0405
Mathematics 0605
Physics 0986
General 0606
Acoustics 0608
Astronomy and Astrophysics 0748
Atmospheric Science 0607
Atomic 0607
Electronics and Electricity 0798
Elementary Particles and High Energy 0759
Fluid and Plasma 0609
Molecular 0610
Nuclear 0752
Optics 0756
Radiation 0611
Solid State 0463
Statistics 0346
Applied Mechanics 0984
Computer Science 0984

Engineering

General 0537
Aerospace 0538
Agricultural 0539
Automotive 0540
Biomedical 0541
Chemical 0542
Civil 0543
Electronics and Electrical 0544
Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
Hydraulic 0545
Industrial 0546
Marine 0547
Materials Science 0794
Mechanical 0548
Metallurgy 0743
Mining 0551
Nuclear 0552
Packaging 0549
Petroleum 0765
Sanitary and Municipal 0554
System Science 0790
Geotechnology 0428
Operations Research 0796
Plastics Technology 0795
Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
Behavioral 0384
Clinical 0622
Developmental 0620
Experimental 0623
Industrial 0624
Personality 0625
Physiological 0989
Psychobiology 0349
Psychometrics 0632
Social 0451



Abstract

The purpose of the present study was to examine the nature of newspaper articles which dealt with the subject of policing in Canada and also to identify how this particular medium portrays individuals and events surrounding the police during the work-to-rule protest of 1992. A total of 730 newspaper articles were examined. These articles appeared in either the Toronto Star, Toronto Sun or Now. In addition articles were also drawn from the Globe and Mail, on days which a large amount of coverage occurred in the previously mentioned papers. A content analysis procedure was then used to examine the newspaper articles. Fifteen variables were used to assess the articles portrayal of Canadian police. The papers were compared on various levels, such as source of articles, use of pictures, length of headlines and placement of articles and advertisements. These results and others were discussed in terms of the findings of previous research and in terms of the possible effects which a distorted portrayal of the police may have upon public acceptance and criticism expressed towards the existing method of policing.

Table Of Contents

Abstract	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
Introduction	1
Theoretical Approach	4
Political Economy	4
Review of the Literature	11
Ownership	12
Advertising and Market Orientation	21
Government and the Press	28
Methodology	34
Content Analysis	34
Research Findings	43
Discussion and Conclusions	71
References	87
Appendix A	
Thomsons' Concentration of Economic Power	91
Appendix B	
Letter to the Editor from <u>Now</u> Magazine.	92
VITA AUCTORIS	93

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Thomas O'Rielly Fleming, Dr. Subas Ramcharan, and Prof. Brian Mazer for their willingness to work around the vast distance involved with this defense. I could never have defended without their patience and understanding.

I am especially grateful to Dr. Thomas Fleming for providing direction, support and encouragement throughout this project.

I would like also to thank, my parents, grandparents and sister. Without their support (both financial and emotional) this thesis would never have been written.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude to Scott Tempest who was patient and understanding during the hectic last weeks of editing and proofreading of this thesis.

Introduction

A majority of the Canadian public relies almost exclusively upon the news media for information about criminal justice issues, and in particular policing. Knowledge of the police is transferred from the pages of a newspaper and imbedded in the minds of the public. "In other words, it has been argued that media effects are cultural effects which shape our understanding of the social world in line with our background and experience" (Glover 1984: 25). Since most of the law abiding public have limited experience with the police, the media is an important source of knowledge. To understand public views of policing, there is a need to explore the image of policing projected by the news media.

In light of widespread public dissatisfaction with police trends, demonstrated by recent restrictive legislation and the development of civilian review boards, an analysis of the media treatment of police is necessary. Accounts of crime incidents, crime control efforts, and issues in the administration of criminal justice are a dominant feature of news media content (Ditton and Duffy 1982; Dussuyer 1979; Graber 1980; Ericson 1991). Research has documented the media's preoccupation with violent, interpersonal crime. Gordon and Heath in reviewing major newspapers across the United-States, found that 18.07% of

front page stories in U.S. newspapers dealt with violent crime (Gordon & Heath 1981: 238). The media have a natural tendency to focus upon dramatic events not the mundane, since they have not only a sensational appeal to a large segment of prospective readers, but are also considered newsworthy. The determination of newsworthiness is often biased and questionable (Ericson et al. 1989).

This would lead to the natural conclusion that the news media will pay greater attention to those police incidents that involve violent, bizarre or unusual events. These 'abnormal' events could be viewed as different or contrary to publicly held norms. The media is used to win support for the values held by society (Sacco 1988:35). To summarize, research has underscored the important role the news media play in shaping public conceptions of criminality. According to Roberts and Bachen,

Almost every dimension of social behavior, is at least potentially influenced by mass communication . . . Politics, health, prosocial and antisocial behavior, attitudes toward almost every definable group within society . . . (Roberts and Bachen 1981, 309).

The mass media are of particular relevance in areas of crime and crime control. The public learns the proper and improper ways to behave. Newspapers in our society can serve as a method of social control, by either describing a punishment for a criminal act or by illustrating the devastating effects of crime upon the public.

Indeed, the extent to which media coverage will

influence public attitudes will be, in part, a function of the availability of additional or alternate sources of information. Since the majority of the public has limited dealings with the police, the media can provide valuable insight and thus help develop public attitudes regarding the police. An examination of the newspaper coverage of the police work-to-rule protest of 1992, could provide valuable insight into the potential media influence upon public support or criticism of the protest.

Even if the media message is disbelieved by the public it is still being heard. Few alternative ideas are readily available to the public. So in essence the larger, more mainstream media decide what they want to cover and in essence that is what we end up thinking. "They are setting the agenda, defining what we must believe or disbelieve, accept or reject" (Parenti 1986: ix). In other words, by simply choosing not to cover an issue the media can effectively prevent the public from forming an opinion regarding a subject. Katz (1980: 128) noted that, ". . . as a latent consequence of telling us what to think about, the agenda setting effect can sometimes influence what we think". Thus an analysis of how the police protest was illustrated by the Toronto Star, The Toronto Sun and the alternative magazine Now, may provide an understanding of the public conception of the police.

The remainder of this chapter presents some various

theoretical perspectives used to examine media coverage of events as well as a review of relevant literature.

Theoretical Approach

Political Economy

The original founder of political economy, Adam Smith, "proposed an economic theory of history based on human desires for betterment and acquisitiveness as well as people's capacities for cooperation and exchange of commodities" (Clement and Williams 1989: 4). However, the definition of political economy has been debated and broadened over the years. Karl Marx developed his political economy in critiques of the dominant liberal or bourgeois political economy that had grown from the work of Smith. This theory can be directly related to communications when considering the influence the rich and powerful have over the production of ideas in our society. The manipulations of resources by a ruling class can include the creation and distribution of ideas.

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. (Marx and Engels 1947: 39)

This does not mean the proletariat do not have ideas, rather, the ruling elite are better able to disseminate their beliefs and ideas. This is especially true today when considering the technology and the subsequent cost involved in operating a newspaper or broadcasting company. Aside from these financial constraints on the 'free press' the payment of individuals for their ideas is another deterrent cost. Nicholas Garnham suggested that Marx and Engels were concerned with the payment of ideologist, of intellectuals, out of capitalist revenue (Garnham 1986: 21).

This relation between the capitalist class and the producers of knowledge is important. Garnham suggested that even though the working class has developed a counter culture of "organic intellectuals", the surplus available out of wages is minimal thus direct ideological power is decisively weighted in favour of capital (Garnham 1986: 21-23). The result of this distribution of surplus results in direct economic pressures on the ideologists who are the hired staff of the capitalist. For example, a journalist is paid a wage by the newspaper, thus the desire to remain employed is a factor influencing his or her performance.

Another example would be the funding given to research which is coming from vested commercial interests. Stephen Brickey in 1989 also stated concern over the control by vested interests of social science research. In his article Brickey suggests that what a researcher examines is partly

determined by funding. The government has at its disposal a gross amount of money which it can spend on research, which the state can then use as it desires, perhaps only publishing only the parts which are supportive of an elitist perspective (Brickey 1989: 60). The research problem itself may even be changed or redesigned in an attempt by a researcher to gain funding from a capitalist or government source. In other words the vested interests control not only how research will be used but also what research will be conducted at all.

The same could be said for the production of news. Many will argue that the public demand determines the coverage given to events yet this is not necessarily true. Advertisers play a supporting role in the development of ideology. Newspapers wish to achieve the largest amount of advertising that they can get, this desire for funding leads to an influence upon the media.

(T)he media have adapted to the requirements of advertisers in the ways they have sought to maximize revenue. This has resulted in a growing polarization between popular and quality newspaper journalism. the adoption of limiting program strategies for producing large and predictable audiences on television, and the increasing subordination of the consumer magazine press to creating a conducive editorial environment for advertisements. (Curran 1986: 333)

There are other means used by not only advertisers but also owners and shareholders which will be discussed in the review of literature. Thus, the control of social science research is but one example of the capitalist class

controlling the mental production of labour and the resulting development of ideology. This control through funding, can also be demonstrated in the media.

The ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have been expanded and debated causing new theories, which challenge the dominant order of society, to evolve. Underlying most of these theories are the concepts of ideology and hegemony.

An ideology is a set of ideas that structure a group's notions of reality, a system of representations or a code of meanings governing how individuals and groups see the world. (Littlejohn 1992: 247)

In classical Marxism an ideology is a false set of ideas perpetuated by the political force. The ideas and concepts formed by the ruling class are passed down to the general masses.

The mental production within the mass media is also subjected to the influence from those who have the means of material production. The interconnectedness of the media and ideology of the ruling class was examined by John Porter, who believed that the media provides justification for the economic and political system by insisting that these arrangements are normal and expected (Porter 1965: 459-460). Yet, Porter stresses that the media are not completely dependant upon the traditional systems for power.

But, the ideological system in a highly developed society has become specialized in terms of both content and technology so that like other institutions it acquires a power of its own. (Porter 1965: 460)

Yet, to define the 'media' as a coherent group with similar

interests is a mistake.

Schlesinger et al (1983: 163) point out that there is a relative diversity of opinion within the media and messages that are seemingly in contrast to dominant ideological positions do occur. There is a major risk in describing the dominant ideological interests as homogeneous. There are competing ideas within the ruling elite. On top of these conflicting ideas the ruling class does not have complete rule over society. In a tyranny complete control would be possible but in today's society the ruling class must make concessions in order to remain in power. Michael Parenti states that a complete homogeneity within the press may even be undesired by the ruling class (1986 ,5). Rather Parenti suggests that by making concessions or by obscuring the dominant discourse the ruling class can secure and legitimate its rule by minimizing the appearance and use of its undemocratic coercive power (Parenti 1986, 5). By allowing small leaks of contrasting ideology, the press fools the general masses into believing that an open discussion of ideas is possible. Yet, an accessible and free marketplace for opposing ideas does not exist. Smaller media, not controlled by the ruling elite are limited and unable to attain the government funding or the advertising capital needed to survive.

Thus the debate of opposing ideas is stacked in the favour of the ruling elite. -Most critical theories see

society as the ground for a struggle among interests through the domination of one ideology over another. Hegemony is a process of domination, in which one set of ideas subverts another. This concept was perhaps best illustrated by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. The process of hegemony can occur in many ways and in many settings.

Mass media fits into Antonio Gramsci's theory under his distinction of 'civil society', from the 'economic and state society'.

The term 'civil society' connotes the other organizations in a social formation which are neither part of the processes of material production in the economy, nor part of the state funded organizations, but are relatively long lasting institutions supported and run by people outside the other two major spheres. (Hoare and Smith 1971: 245)

The original definition of 'civil society' fails to account for the various grey areas which many organizations, including media, are found. The ability of a newspaper or broadcasting company to be owned by capitalists and given the dependence upon state funding, the status of the media becomes ambiguous (Bocock 1986: 34). The selling of advertisements also may negate the position of the mass media in the 'civil society'. However, it may not be necessary for the media to be separate and independent from the economic or state processes, if the audiences choose to ignore the interrelations between these 'societies', and view the media as an autonomous group providing the truth and honest unbiased reporting then the media easily slips

into the civil society.

As always with any such classification as the one outlined, it must be remembered that the categories are analytical and that, therefore, empirically any particular organization may change its location over time, or belong to two or all three, of the analytically distinguished sectors. (Bocock, 1986: 34)

More important than the original divisions made by Gramsci are the interrelations between these sectors. The emphasis upon the political does not necessarily mean the exclusion of the economic or the civil society when discussing hegemony (Bocock 1986: 35).

In communication, hegemony happens when events or texts are interpreted in a way that promotes the interests of one group over those of another. The press can serve as a valuable tool in the process of hegemony, by promoting one ideology and ignoring others. Political economy can therefore examine how the state and its associated political and economic structures affect the distribution of wealth and the control of culture through the promotion of a ruling ideology.

The capitalist class, that tiny portion of the population that lives securely and affluently principally off the labour of others, has a commanding say in how and for whom the wealth of the nation is produced. (Parenti 1986: 1)

The press is manipulated and used to maintain the hegemony of the corporate class and the capitalist system itself (Parenti 1986: 3).

The press is set up to compliment the other sectors of our society which create and perpetuate ideology. "The

audience is literally set up to read media texts in particular ways because of what they have learned in school, church, work and throughout culture" (Littlejohn 1992: 254). When the ideologies of powerful groups are accepted by the members of the public as natural and true without question, those ideologies will prevail and the existing structure of power will remain in place.

To summarize, while political economy is based on a tradition that investigates the relationship between the economy and politics as they affect the social and cultural life of societies, within political economy there have been divergent tendencies. (Clement and Williams 1989: 6)

Political Economy stresses the biases in the organization and operations of state, and the market-biases that methodically benefit some members of society over others (Howlett and Ramesh 1992: 10).

Review of the Literature

The way in which ideas are spread and understood within culture and communication helps make social relations and the structures of power in Canada. "Canadian political economy tends to focus on economic development and on the basic processes of production" (Magder 1989: 278). What follows is a critical review of some of the more notable currents in the attempt to summarize the political economy of the press. The conducted studies may be divided into three categories; ownership and elite control,

advertising and market influence, and state intervention.¹

Ownership

In his analysis of power in Canada, *The Vertical Mosaic*, John Porter argued that in highly differentiated societies such as Canada the mass media play a central role in acting as the custodians of values and the interpreters of social experience which are otherwise fragmented by barriers such as class, religion, ethnicity and language (1965: 460). In essence, the media serve as glue to hold together an idea of what we experience in society. As a result, this ability of the media is translated into power. The power of the media is distributed like any other type of power in society.

To ensure that the values put forward are consistent with the values of the dominant power structure, the ideological system, of which the media are a central part, becomes articulated with other systems of power particularly the economic and political. (Hannigan 1983: 55)

This is achieved with the combination of media ownership into the wider capital of the Canadian economic community.

On March 18, 1969, the Senate of Canada created the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media headed by Senator Keith Davey, to study two separate aspects of mass communication in Canada. First, this committee was to study

¹These categories cannot be considered exhaustive, they are limited for the purpose of this paper.

the ownership and control patterns of the printing and broadcasting industries in Canada. Secondly, it was to report on the impact of the mass media on the Canadian public (Davey 1970).

From the onset, the Special Committee on Mass Media had three prime concerns: (1) the increasing concentration of mass media ownership, (2) the poor quality of a great deal of Canada's media; and (3) the Americanization of the mass media in Canada. (Seacrest 1983: 115).

All of these concerns were proven to be interrelated. In the *Davey Report* ownership of the media was considered especially important. It was thought if different views and interests were represented in the media, the better the media was able to inform and educate the public. In other words, alternative sources of ideas is important for the free expression of ideas. Unfortunately this ideal is not always possible. "But although numerous sources of information may be beneficial to our democratic society, fewer sources are more economical" (Seacrest 1983: 116). Yet, the Davey report does not simply focus on the negative side of monopoly ownership, it also shows the beneficial aspects of such ownership (Seacrest 1983: 117). For example, chain newspaper ownership has saved several smaller newspapers from going out of business. "But the good points about chain or multi media ownership do not overshadow the fact that the control of Canada's mass media is becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of a smaller and smaller privileged group of businessmen" (Seacrest 1983:

117). This trend toward monopoly was considered a threat to public interest.

In the area of media ownership, the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media had two basic recommendations. First, the committee recommended the establishment of a Press Ownership Review Board patterned after the British Monopolies Commission (Davey 1970: 71). Secondly, the committee suggested that a loan fund be developed for new Canadian publishers, thus allowing a more divergent base of information (Davey 1970: 72).

Following the leads of Porter and Davey, Wallace Clement found that 49 percent of the media elite were simultaneously members of the economic elite, that is, they were members of the executive or held directorships in the one of the 113 dominant corporations in the economic sector (Clement 1975: 325). Clement argued that this indicated that two functionally separate institutions in Canadian society were essentially controlled by the same people, and consequently, the mass media served mainly the interests of the ruling class (Hannigan 1983: 55).²

Elizabeth Baldwin reanalyzed Clement's data and found that his percentage was too high; she found only a 26 percent overlap (Baldwin 1977: 1-27).³ Although Baldwin's

²See appendix A for a breakdown of media ownership in Canada.

³The considerable difference-reflected the use of different selection criteria as well as the issue to include CBC

data did not completely reinforce Cement's findings she stressed that the mass media do largely serve the interests of the upper class, and that further concentration of the media into the hands of the elite should be avoided (Baldwin 1977).

This documentation of media concentration and elite overlaps suggested that it is possible for owners to have some sort of influence over the newspaper. However, the literature regarding this phenomenon is not overwhelming abundant. Perhaps the most striking example of the negative aspects of media control by a local community elite is the "Kitchener Market Fight" case (Pasternak 1975). The newspaper was accused of submitting false letters to the editor as well as blacking out information regarding the replacement of a farmers market with a downtown market. Commenting on the Kitchener incident, Peter C. Newman, in a lead editorial in *Maclean's*, wrote that "the relationship between men who make the news and the men who report it has seldom been more abused than it was in Kitchener" (Newman 1972: 207).

Cases of owner interference in the everyday operation of the media have also been documented in the Atlantic provinces. Until forced to give up his holdings, K.C. Irving a member of the corporate elite in New Brunswick

executives among the key media figures (Baldwin included them while Clement did not) (Hannigan 1983: 56).

during the 1960s, owned all of the provinces English papers as well as many of the media outlets. The Davey report noted how the New Brunswick Water Authority, in charge of antipollution, was unreported perhaps due to the fact that Irving owned one of the largest paper mills in New Brunswick (Davey 1970: 87).⁴

The Kent Commission was set up after the purchase of the FP chain by the Thomson chain.

The shape of the newspaper industry in English Canada was then dramatically changed by an agreement . . . between the two largest remaining newspaper corporations, Thomson and Southam" (Kent 1981: 215).

This commission in its study discussed the lack of "freedom of the press" associated with the monopoly ownership of newspapers.

In a one-newspaper town it means nothing except the right of a proprietor to do what he will with his own. In a country that has allowed so many newspapers to be owned by a few conglomerates, freedom of the press means, in itself, only that enormous influence without responsibility is conferred on a handful of people. For the heads of such organizations to justify their position by appealing to the principle of freedom of the press is offensive to intellectual honesty. (Kent 1981: 217).

The Kent Commission considered the monopoly state of the communications industry to be "entirely unacceptable for a democratic society" (Kent 1981: 220). The issue was reduced to a question of power and the possible misuse of power.

⁴In most of the cases documented the media owners are of a smaller nature, that is, independents not chains. Perhaps media ownership is a reflection of the dominant local economic leadership (Hannigan 1983: 57).

Too much power is put in too few hands; and it is power without accountability. Whether the power is in practice well used or ill used or not used at all is beside the point. The point is how it is used is subject to the indifference or to the whim of a few individuals, whether hidden or not in a faceless corporation. (Kent 1981: 220)

The fact that the possibility for abuse by owners exists at all, is considered dangerous. A business that owns many newspapers may not penalize journalists who critically investigate a branch of the company, but then again, it can (Kent 1981: 221).

While not recommending divestment by existing chains -- with very few exceptions--the commission suggested significant restrictions on the formation or expansion of chains" (Samarajiwa 1983: 127).

In addition to these concerns over concentration Kent recommended a requirement of 60 days notice prior to a daily newspaper closure (Kent 1981: ch13). It was also suggested that tax incentives be applied to editorial expenditures as a means of ensuring editorial autonomy (Kent 1981: ch13). Overall, the Kent Commission condemned the present newspaper system without blaming either the newspaper owners or the government since these structures have evolved "naturally and legitimately under the law as it has been" (Kent 1981: 225).

Empirical studies of ownership patterns and concentration in the media are part and parcel of the political economy of culture (Magder 1989: 284). Those who have the means to produce culture make up an important and

powerful group whose interests, while not always in agreement, affect the making of Canadian culture and communications.

The question as to whether this influence by owners is on a conspired level now arises. First it should be noted that there are conspiracies among ruling groups, things done in secrecy with the intent to sustain or extend power. Conspiracies are deeply rooted in Canadian history. One such example of a conspiracy is the Pacific Scandal of 1872, after American contractors gained a controlling interest in Canada's proposed Pacific railway, it was revealed that the company had contributed heavily to the Tory election fund (Jackson & Griffiths 1991: 463).⁵ This revelation forced Sir John A Macdonald from office (Ibid.). Power and manipulation has played an important role in the history of Canada. In 1964, "an assistant to the Liberal Minister of Citizenship and Immigration offered a \$20,000 bribe to a Montreal lawyer to get bail for Lucien Rivard, a narcotics smuggler" (Jackson and Griffiths 1991, 464). When the attempt to attain bail failed, Lucien mysteriously escaped from a Montreal prison. Watergate, and the Iran-Contra scandals make it easy to think that conspiracies occur in the United States but not in Canada.

⁵For more information on this scandal and others please refer to:

Jackson, M. and C. Griffiths: Canadian Criminology. Toronto: Harcourt Bruce Jovanovich. 1991, pp. 463-464.

The major argument against conspiracy with the media is supplemented by the complex nature of news. Arguments have been made that a conspiracy of such a large scale could not occur, or if it did, it would be completely obvious. Michael Parenti's response to these arguments suggests that although the domination of the elite is not obvious it is still present:

The ruling class rules, but not always in the way it might want. It sometimes must make concessions to the resistant public or at least maintain an appearance of so doing. To best secure and legitimate its rule, it must minimize the appearance of and the use of its undemocratic coercive power. (Parenti 1986: 5)

In other words, a conspiracy if it does exist will be carefully hidden so as not to arouse public dissatisfaction:

A press governed solely by the desire to avoid all critical news that might reflect negatively upon the dominant class interests reveals itself as an obvious instrument of class domination, loses popular support, and generates disbelief and disaffection. (Parenti 1986:5)

To have a newspaper that was not considered valid would prevent the ideological message from reaching its intended audience and being accepted as truth.

The appearance of articles that are not supportive of the ruling elite should not be used as a means to discredit a conspiracy theory. There are several explanations why such articles would occur. One reason critical articles occasionally peek through an otherwise controlled press is because ideological control is not formal but rather informal (Parenti 1986: 234). Since the control of the

media is not complete, for the sake of appearance, the effect is imperfect. Sometimes news that contradicts the ideological views of the elite will sneak through.

As well, articles which challenge the ideological norm may be run simply because editors do not foresee all of the possible interpretations of an article. For example,

A report on how a particular corporation is taking care of atoxic spill may intend to show the firm's socially responsible behavior and reassure the public, whereas it actually has the unintended but more accurate effect of revealing how big companies are poisoning the environment. (Parenti 1986: 235)

The intended message could also be confused or easily mistaken allowing for different interpretations of an article. A conflicting message may also be due to a difference in opinion between different factions of the elite. "Capitalists for analytical purposes, are not unified subjects" (Garnham 1990: 35). For example, there are newspapers with perceived biases that are different, such as liberal or conservative political views. "The ruling elite can in no way be viewed as a completely homogeneous group, conflicting or differing views may be covered by the media" (Parenti 1986: 235). We are unable to play the role of fortune tellers and predict the actions of the owners of newspapers, how can you determine the vast number of possible reasons behind the mind of an owner? For example, an owner may desire the social prestige of owning a paper regardless of how unprofitable it may be (Garnham 1990: 35).

Contrasting opinions regarding the possibility of an ownership/elite conspiracy exists among researchers. Shoemaker and Reese (1991: 204) stress the importance of recognizing that ideological influences should not be considered a conspiracy. Ideology is said to occur as a natural outgrowth of the way the system operates (Shoemaker & Reese 1991: 204). Chibnall also suggests that misleading news is not a conspiracy but the result of the social organization of reporting and the commercial interests that underlie it (1977: 115-116).

Advertising and Market Orientation

More recent studies have shifted concentration away from the ownership debate. Media coverage of events was not considered to be under the influence of owners.

In other words, media content has less to do with who owns or controls the media than with the atmosphere in which they operate and which they must survive. Indeed, direct interventions by owners are quite rare, and the media do produce items embarrassing to the principal sources of economic, political, and social power. (Magder 1989: 284)

Mass consumerism is suggested as the driving force behind media coverage according to these theories. As Debra Clarke explains, a political economy of media production, and cultural production more generally, must "investigate the total process, from the raw materials to the organization of

production and its constraints, to the actual routines of production and the practices of producers, to the actual product which results" (Clarke 1987: 2). Dallas Smythe, in the late 1970s introduced a unique theory. For Smythe, "the first question that historical materialists should ask about mass communications systems is what economic function for capital do they serve, attempting to understand their role in the reproduction of capitalist relations of production" (Smythe 1977: I). This theoretical approach changed the direction of investigation in communications research. The answer was centred on the ability of the media to sell their audiences to advertisers (Smythe 1981: xvi).

Although Smythe describes one of the ways in which the mass media reproduce capitalist relations, the audience as commodity thesis contains serious drawbacks. As Graham Murdock points out, Smythe is preoccupied with the interplay between advertising and communication, which "leads him to underplay the independent role of the media content in reproducing dominant ideologies" (Murdock 1978: 286).

Magder also criticizes Smythe stating;

Further, not all forms of cultural production under monopoly capitalism are driven by the sale of advertising, not only in the traditional arts, but in important sectors of the "cultural industries", such as cinema, popular music, and popular fiction. Further, although Smythe claims that his theory reflects a fundamental reality of monopoly capitalism, it is best applied only to North America. (Magder 1989; 286)

Magder also suggests that audiences are not the principal commodity produced by the media, rather you cannot produce

what you do not own. "From a materialist perspective what the mass media produce is their content or programs" (Magder 1989: 286). The term "audience" as used by Smythe was also criticized by Magder who considers the term "audience" to be a conglomerate of individuals and groups, and is a very ineffective adversary to monopoly capitalism or mass media (Magder 1989: 286).

Even with all of the criticism directed towards Smythe, a valid direction was given for other investigations into the audience as a merchandise to be sold by the mass media. As William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally argue,

(A)dvertising consideration . . . influences greatly the operations of media, particularly their orientation to content and programming and the organization of audiences in terms of social, spatial and temporal qualities. (Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1986: 71)

In other words, advertising leads to a competition for audiences which in turn influences programming. A media dependent on money from advertising will develop a bias toward the "tried and true" formula, toward programming that will attempt to secure the largest audience possible (Magder 1989: 287). A time frame becomes known as the right time to watch certain programs, i.e., news at 6:00 or cartoons early Saturday morning.

Through a detailed historical survey of national consumer advertising, Leiss, Line and Jhally show that advertising has become a powerful way of social communication. In its most developed form, advertising

presents a

Magical representation of social collectivity. It is magical because the product stands in a quite indeterminate relation to the personal activities, interaction, and self-transformations that are portrayed in the advertising messages. The product, in other words, simply represents a social collectivity as such, which is defined by its style and activities as a distinct social grouping vis-a-vis others. (Jhally, S., Kline, Stephen and Leiss, W. 1985: 20)

The widespread occurrence of advertising in modern society only supports the undemocratic organization of the marketplace, unconstrained communication over social relations between people and objects, which have no means of attaining profit, is deficient or marginalized (Leiss et al., 1986: 287-288).

James Curran also discussed the various forms of influence advertising has upon newspapers and newspaper development in his article, "Advertising as a Patronage System" (Curran 1980: 71). Publication profits depend upon how an advertising firm spends its money, Although this power is "largely unsought" it has a vast influence upon the press (Curran 1980: 71).

Competition for advertising patronage inevitably also influences the editorial strategies of the press -- sometimes crudely in terms of what is published, but more often discretely in terms of the target definition of audiences sought by press publications. (Curran 1980:71)

Curran in his article explores how the patronage system affects the political structure and character of newspapers since the First World War.

Curran's conclusions described an early pattern of

political and commercial discrimination in the selection of advertising media which inhibited the development of a radical press during the early part of the twentieth century (Curran 1980: 109). A political tradition was sustained by the increase of advertising spending on the press which made the establishment of alternative or "new left" papers extremely hard due to detrimental costs (Curran 1980: 109). Curran goes on to argue that the elitist papers also were of better quality and received more advertising revenue simply because of the greater purchasing power and influence of their readers (Curran 1980: 110).

"Advertisers have also directly influenced the political content of the national press by influencing the market strategies adopted by publishers to maximize revenue" (Curran 1980: 109). The general limitation of market appeal has encouraged a deviation to occur. The requirements of mass market advertisers have encouraged popular papers to maximize their audience by reducing their political coverage (Curran 1980: 110). As a consequence there developed a growing polarization between elite and popular journalism (Curran 1980: 110). At the end of his article James Curran stressed that his study was of the London national press and that not all of his conclusions may be generalized to other forms of media (Curran 1980: 110).

Colin Sparks suggests that to "speak of the press in a

"market situation" is to obscure important realities" (Sparks 1992: 38). Sparks states that the fact that readers pay money for the newspaper, is important and that if all readers were able to choose from a range of papers competing more or less equally for their attention competition would be a controlling factor (Sparks 1992: 38-39). Unfortunately, the economic act of buying a paper is not the only income available to a publisher. There is a second market for the "reader's presumed attention to potential suppliers of other commodities" (Sparks 1992: 39).

The buying power of an audience now becomes an issue. An audience which is perceived as rich will draw a specific type of advertisement company. For example, a full page advertisement for Danier Leather which is often printed in the first five pages of the Globe and Mail in comparison to warehouse advertisements in the Toronto Sun.

This picture of relative reader affluence modifies our basic picture of competition on price and quality between newspapers. A newspaper with a rich audience will start to make money with a smaller audience than one that has a poor audience. If we assume identical process and the newspapers compete on the quality of their editorial content then a newspaper with a rich audience will outcompete the one with a poor audience. (Sparks 1992: 40)

The advertisements in the "richer audience" paper will help pay for better quality, thus the other papers which do not have these resources are forced to pay for their "quality" out of other revenue which might not be as generous in nature.

Yet, Sparks insists that this is still not the whole picture. "It still assumes that it is rational for newspapers to attempt to maximize their readerships. This is not the case" (Sparks 1992: 40). Sparks suggests that the number of people who are able to buy luxury goods is very small and it is this group that advertisers wish to reach, not the majority of society who cannot afford these products (1992: 40).⁶

As a result, the market becomes divided into two sections, the elite press and the press directed at the rest of the population. Curran and Seaton have stated that there exists an audience of significant size interested in a popular press which examines social issues (Curran and Seaton 1980). Yet there are not enough readers to interest mass advertisers, nor are the readers rich enough to attract luxury advertisers (Sparks 1992: 45). As it stands this audience is forced to choose from the expensive press which may be culturally distant from their lives or the tabloid press which does not provide the serious social and political material (Sparks 1992, 45).

Advertising has had an important influence upon the structure of the press. The content of newspapers has been compromised by advertisers influencing the market strategies

⁶In the case of advertising aimed at corporate purchasers, the target audience is perhaps 3% and advertisers are prepared to pay to reach these people but will not do so for the other 97% of the population (Sparks 1992: 40).

adopted by the publishers to maximize revenue (Curran 1992: 109). Outside of indirect influence upon editorial content, advertising has helped decide which newspapers would prosper and which would fold.

The early pattern of political and commercial discrimination in the selection of advertising media inhibited the development of a radical press, . . . made the launch of new left papers more difficult by increasing newspaper costs, . . . while elite papers have continued to receive more advertising support due to greater publishing power and influence of their leaders. (Curran 1992: 109).

The influence of advertising in any form skews the media, thus changing the ways in which people interpret the world.

Government and the Press

Noam Chomsky once said that "in a state in which the government can't control the people by force, it had better control what they think" (Chomsky 1992, 46). Unlike a totalitarian state, democratic societies cannot control behaviour through force, instead the government must rely on its ability to control what the population thinks. Although this is accomplished in a variety of ways, media presentation of ideas is a central means of creating consensus.⁷

The government influences the media in a variety of

⁷Other methods include schools and other societal institutions. For further information see,

Chomsky, Noam. (1992). "The Propaganda System." in Chronicles of Dissent. Vancouver: New Star Books (pp. 46-55).

ways. For example, the classification of information enables a government to conceal information it deems unnecessary or possibly damaging to the public. By limiting the access of the press to information, the state can control what the public knows and doesn't know about its government. In fact, the government can even choose to release false information. Arthur Sylvester, assistant secretary of defense suggests that the ability to lie is a basic right of a government.

It would seem to be basic, all through history, that a government's right . . . if necessary to lie to save itself when it is going up into a nuclear war. This seems to me basic. (Sylvester as found in Brown 1986, 415)

After the resulting public outrage Sylvester rephrased his comment saying that the elected officials should "take whatever means in their judgement or in the judgement of the top people is necessary when that people faces nuclear war" (Sylvester as found in Brown 1986, 415). Sylvester continues to state that such deception is necessary to mislead our enemies and protect the lives or men and women who are in the armed forces (Brown 1986, 415). Although his argument holds some validity, the issuing of false information raises some vital concerns over the construction of reality. By choosing what information is printed the government is effectively telling its population what to think and what to think about. "Information of value to the enemy is an elastic phrase and, when occasion requires, can

be stretched to cover the whole field of independent discussion" (Creel, 1986, 422). The legal regulation of mass communication in Canada is primarily a matter of public law, concerned with the relationship between the individual and the state as well as broader questions of social policy (Mercer 1990, 354). Under the heading of public law there are three distinctions: criminal law, constitutional law, and administrative law (Mercer 1990: 354).

Constitutional law is more important to Canadian mass communication, both because it allocates regulatory power to the federal and provincial levels of the government and because it establishes certain fundamental rights and freedoms accorded under the Charter of Rights. (Mercer 1990: 354).

In the beginning, public law is legislation, either federal or provincial statutes or in the form of rules and regulations (Mercer 1990: 355).

The main branch of the government which determines the rules and regulations is the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). The CRTC addresses such issues as ownership and content. As well as this regulatory body newspapers were also examined by a series of Royal Commissions. These commissions do research and examine the ways in which the press and other forms of media do business. The suggestions of these commissions are then ideally to be implemented into policy changes.

Federal legislation to curb monopolistic control of the newspaper industry . . . (including the mandates of the

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission and the National Film Board) are responses to proposals made by inquires. (Samarajiwa 1983, 121)

Several commissions have examined the media. First there was the Massey Commission that served as a basis for cultural and media policy for 30 years (Samarajiwa 1983: 121). Next, the report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media which was later referred to as the Davey Report was issued.

The Davey Report proposed the setting up of a Press Ownership Review Board so that "all transactions that increase concentration of ownership in the mass media are undesirable and contrary to the public interest -- unless shown otherwise" (Samarajiwa 1983, 125). But on this, and on other recommendations of the Davey Committee, no action was taken. "Instead of drawing on the Davey recommendations and immediately pushing through some legislation, the Liberal government did a characteristic waffle" (Samarajiwa 1983, 126). While the government procrastinated the media protested the government control over freedom of the press (Samarajiwa 1983, 126). Unfortunately the Liberal government was unable to put any of the recommendations into legislation, the recession finished the Liberals and the Davey report (Samarajiwa 1983, 127).

The trend of inaction continued after the Kent Commission. Although the Kent Commission made a variety of

proposals very few were acted on.⁸ "The government remedy for concentration was a ceiling off 20 percent of total Canadian daily circulation to be applicable to chains created by acquisition or merger" (Samarajiwa 1983, 128). Yet, this left two of the largest Canadian chain owners untouched. "The limit would not apply to the Southam and Thompson chains which already exceed it (33 percent and 26 percent respectively)" (Samarajiwa 1983, 128). This legislation was also to prevent any more expansion through acquisition or merger (Samarajiwa 1983, 128).

There were other problems associated with the legislation. Not only was the limit 15 percent more than the recommendations of the commission, the government also failed to account for regionalism. In other words, the regulations as imposed by the government could in theory allow one owner to gain control over the entire french language market which accounts for just under 20 percent of the total market (Samarajiwa 1983, 128). "The new legislation following Kent merely shuts the proverbial barn door after the horses have escaped" (Samarajiwa 1983, 122). In reality, regulations have been ineffective in controlling corporate activities and, giant corporations are very adept at finding ways around the legislation (Samarajiwa 1983, 122). A very recent example would be the purchase of

⁸The recommendations of the Kent Commission are listed earlier in this review (see page 16).

Maclean and Hunter publishing corporation by the Rogers cable company.

Although these two commissions are not the only committees to examine the media they are the most intensive and detailed government sponsored investigations into the newspaper industry (McPhail and McPhail 1990, 93). The key words being government sponsored. This attachment can be seen as a major drawback to the Royal Commission approach to research.

Its arms-length relationship with government meant that there was no built in lobby for its recommendations. Three commissioners whose mandate had expired and a few committed researchers and consultants were no match for the powerful industry lobby. (Samarajiwa 1983, 126)

People are very fearful in most cases of government interference. When the media say that the government is trying to take away freedom of the press people listen.

Public information media are said to be organized in the framework of a private market place of ideas so that all viewpoints can be expressed without authoritative selection, especially by the government. (Samarajiwa 1983, 132)

Yet, a completely hands-off approach by our government may not be in the best interests of the public. When the industry can no longer maintain a variety of sources and viewpoints, the government should intervene in the interest of the public or so the proponents of increased government regulation argue (Brasch 1986, 610).

Opponents, on the other hand, suggest the public has nothing to fear from present system of media which

encourages freedom of speech. "Instead they hold that what the public should fear is any attempt by government to infringe on this freedom" (Brasch 1986: 610). However, the ability of the market forces and newspaper chains to promote freedom of speech has yet to be proven.

Methodology

Content Analysis

"Content analysis is a method of data analysis as well as a method of observation" (Nachmias and Nachmias 1982: 257). Instead of observing what people do or asking them about it, the researcher examines communications that the media have produced to provide an idea of public opinions and cultural expectations.

Content analysis is viewed as an unobtrusive measure; that is, the people who produce the content that will be analyzed usually are unaware that they are being observed analytically. (Budd, R., Robert Thorp and Lewis Donohew 1967: vii).

The police work to rule protest was analyzed in 4 papers, with attention given to fifteen variables. The time frame of the study was from September 1 till December 31, 1992. The way in which a page is arranged can affect the reader's decision to read that page. For example, a large advertisement may deflect attention away from a smaller article on the same page. The physical appearance of the article was assessed using seven characteristics. The page number, number of police articles per page, the size of

accompanying advertisements, type of commodity advertised, use of pictures plus the article and advertisement placement on the page were analyzed. The content of the article was assessed only on a superficial level. Unfortunately, time, space and the sheer number of articles that appeared during this time frame, made in depth analysis of the written article beyond the scope of this study.

Characteristics such as the source of the article, number of words in the headlines and cutlines, use of quotes in the headlines and cutlines and the tone of the headline were used to determine any possible influence the paper might pass to a reader. Other factors examined were, what date the article appeared and in which paper the article was published. Headlines will also undergo an investigation for the usage of such things as nicknames, contractions, statistics and agentless portrayal.

The page number of an article was a method of determining relevance the newspaper placed upon the article. A front page story denotes importance not only to the editor but also to the readers. The number of police articles per page was used to record the number of 'features' on the police. Also, with more than one police article on a page, the reader can be influenced by each article and this can affect the general perspective of the reader. In other words, four articles with negative headlines may be more influential than one article-with a negative headline.

Advertisements are specifically designed to catch a reader's attention. The simple size of the advertisement or the placement on the page may be its selling point. When advertisements occur on the same page as a police article, size, placement as well as the goods advertised were noted to determine if a pattern was evident.

Pictures have always been noted as an important part of communication. The use of pictures in police articles have an impact on the reader. "The selection of photo's is significant, for a picture sends a cue about how to view an article before we actually read it" (Lee and Solomon 1992, 47). Pictures, like advertisements, catch a reader's attention, more so than words. "When it comes to words against pictures, the pictures carry the day" (Lee and Solomon 1992, 47).

The last physical variable analyzed was the placement of the article and advertisement. When reading in English, a reader will begin at the top left corner of a page. Therefore, it can be argued that any articles which appear in this area have a good chance of being read first. It was suspected that a pattern of placement may emerge and correspond with other variables.

Other researchers (Chibnall 1977, Fishman 1978, 1980) have shown that the police and courts are the primary source of information concerning crime news. The source of an article was divided into 10 labels for this study.

- 1) police
- 2) public
- 3) government
- 4) journalist
- 5) court
- 6) government and court
- 7) police and public
- 8) police and court
- 9) police and government
- 10) other

The label of 'public' includes any victims or witnesses.

Any individuals who are not organized into an official group are included in this category. 'Journalist' was a unique group in the fact that if an article failed to note any sources, the journalist became designated as the source. This category included this factor since it is impossible to have an article without a source. The category 'other' was included to ensure that any unanticipated sources, organized public groups, or numerous sources would be counted.

The number of words in a headline was divided into three sections.

- 1) 1-5 words
- 2) 6-10 words
- 3) more than 10 words

The categories were arbitrarily chosen. However, headlines longer than 10 words were expected to be unusual. Headlines with five or less words were noted because their simplicity suggested an ability to grab attention. For example, "Cop killed" is more eye catching than "Escaped bank robber shoots a metro police officer". A similar sorting method was used when analyzing the length of cutlines.

- 1) 1-5 words

- 2) 6-10 words
- 3) 11-15 words
- 4) more than 15 words
- 5) no cutline

Longer cutlines were included in this analysis because more words inferred a more detailed description of the picture. Rather than allowing a reader to form their own opinions regarding a picture, an extended cutline imparts information that may or may not be directly related to the article or picture.

The use of direct quotes was another characteristic that was included in this study. The use of a quotation was noted in cases of the headline as well as the cutline. The use of a quotation advances the headline or cutline beyond hearsay to a description of fact. Quotes used from official sources can increase the credibility of a headline. Overall, when a journalist uses a quotation, a leap is made from a journalist's imagination to a traceable fact.

The measurement of tone was an attempt to assess the quality of positiveness and negativeness of the headline. This was achieved by examining the use of negative, positive and neutral statements in the headline. A 'negative' statement was defined as a unit of information that identified or made explicit the existence of a problem, with either the police departments of Canada or any individual officers. An example of a critical or negative headline is "Cop cited for misconduct in raid" (Toronto Sun, November 3, 1992, p. A22.).

A 'positive' statement was defined as a unit of information that demonstrated support for the police protest or covered an event that illustrated police officers favourably fulfilling or surpassing their duties. Other indicators of a positive tone were community involvement or a mention of public support for the police. An example of a positive tone is, "Cops honored for heroic bust" (Toronto Sun, September 30, 1992, p. 58).

A neutral statement was defined as a unit of information that imparted non-judgemental details of an event or person. A display of simple facts or data that failed to show any positive or negative features were included in this category. An example of a neutral statement is, "Police seeking cabbie's attacker" (Toronto Star, September 16, 1992, p. A6).

This method of determining tone is similar to a study conducted by David Day in 1984. Day attempted to assess the tone of newspaper articles by subjectively determining whether the predominant perspective of the article agreed with or supported a particular issue, did not support the issue or was neutral with respect to the issue. This measure was essentially a subjective qualitative appraisal of tone of the article rather than a quantitative measurement.

The examination of tone was limited to the headline in this present study for a variety of reasons. First, the

article sample was too large and therefore would have been to time consuming to examine in depth the tone of each article. Such an investigation would, indeed, be valuable, but is beyond the scope of this study.

The tone of the headline although not as in depth as an analysis of articles is still important. Headlines grab the attention of the reader. "Our take on the news is largely formed by fleeting glances at headlines and sub heads that may or may not accurately reflect the accompanying stories" (Lee and Solomon 1992: 35). The tone of a headline also helps the reader decide if the article is interesting or worth reading. "Headlines not only can mislead people who merely skim a page, they also give a particular slant to a story and establish a mind set or predisposition that influences how we read the text" (Lee and Solomon 1992: 35). In fact, headlines may even determine whether a reader purchases the paper. So, although this study was unable to evaluate the tone of each article, the examination of headline tone will still provide valuable insight.

The headline will also undergo a limited linguistic analysis. Headlines will be analyzed for the use of contractions which may be an attempt by the newspaper to use an "oral mode" that attempts to be user-friendly and chatty (Fowler 1991, 62). Nicknames can also be considered as an attempt by an author to simulate the "oral mode" to make the paper sound familiar with its subjects. The use of

statistics attempts the opposite, and can be used as an attempt to sound scientific and more credible. The last feature examined in the headline will be the omission of agent.⁹ This method of wording a sentence enables the author to leave the agent of an action in a headline to be absent. By eliminating the agent it is possible to lessen the blame for any actions. For example, "Black youth shot" verses "Black youth shot by Cops", by not including the agent the headline is open ended and fails to acknowledge any possible blame or praise.

The Toronto Star, Toronto Sun, Now, and the Globe and Mail, were the papers analyzed. Each paper is attempting to approach a specific audience. Since three out of the four newspapers rely heavily upon Toronto readership each paper must attempt to define its own audience. Of course, overlap of readership is unavoidable, but each paper wishes to provide readers with something that will draw a person to purchase their paper as well as the reader's usual paper.¹⁰ As a result of competition and the efforts to appeal to different audience segments the three newspapers might show

⁹This could also be called a form of relevance structuring. For further information about relevance structuring see:

Fowler, Roger. (1991). Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press. New York: Routledge.

¹⁰This drive for individual purchase cannot be generalized to the newspaper Now which is free. Now is more concerned with increasing readership and having an individual decide to take the paper.

considerable diversity in the coverage of the police (Voumvakis and Ericson 1984: 17).

The Toronto Sun has been noted to be a popular paper that attempts to provide its readers with a brief look at the news presented in a stylized, lively way (Voumvakis and Ericson 1984: 16). The Toronto Sun also has a large sports section and opinionated editorials (Ibid.).

The Toronto Star although it shares some qualities with the Toronto Sun has been noted to have a "more regional focus with its national appeal resting in the fact that its materials are widely syndicated" (Voumvakis and Ericson 1984: 10). The Toronto Star also has the highest circulation of any paper in the country.

The news magazine Now has the smallest circulation of any of the papers studied. The main claim of this paper is to be "Toronto's weekly news and entertainment voice" (NOW, vol. 12, #15, Dec. 10-16, 1992). Two features are important to note regarding this paper. First, the paper is free. To publish a free newspaper the ability to continue is strongly dependant upon advertisements. Second, the newspaper is only published weekly, thus the circulation numbers cannot be comparable to the other papers.

The Globe and Mail will also be examined yet not completely. The inability to analyze all articles, again relates to space and time constraints. However, this national newspaper will be examined on days which feature

more than five police articles in any one of the other three newspapers. This method will allow some investigation of the Globe and Mail to occur with the days to be analyzed will be decided by the other three papers, not by the researcher.

Research Findings

All papers were analyzed, although the Now publication failed to publish any articles regarding the police protest.¹¹ A letter to the editor was published in NOW, but since such letters were excluded from the other three newspapers, the article is included as appendix B and is not compared to the other papers. In hindsight, another paper which is more race relations orientated should be substituted for NOW. Out of the other three papers there were 730 which focussed on the police in Canada, including OPP, RCMP and metro police.

An analysis of the articles page numbers demonstrated a significant difference among the three papers.

Table 1

Page Number Distribution, by Paper

	1	2-10	11-20	>20	Other	Total
Toronto Star	20	184	53	20	16	293

¹¹One issue of NOW was unavailable from the publishers.

Toronto Sun	4	135	72	108	50	369
Globe & Mail	5	21	37	5	0	68
Totals	29	340	162	133	66	730

The Toronto Star had its articles dispersed throughout the paper, with the majority of articles on the 2-10 pages. The Toronto Sun also dispersed its articles throughout the newspaper with a smaller majority of articles within the 2-10 pages. The Globe and Mail in contrast, did not put police articles in any other sections than the first with the concentration of articles within 11-20 pages. Overall, between the 3 papers the highest concentration of articles were in pages 2-10, accounting for 46.6% of the articles.

Advertisement size differences between papers was also analyzed.

Table 2

Ad Size, by Paper

Size>					
Paper	small <¼	Med. <½	Lrg. <¾	Dom. >¾	None
Star	17	66	44	6	160
Sun	4	85	124	5	151
Globe	11	7	4		46
	32	158	172	11	357

As expected the Globe and Mail had more small ads while the Toronto Sun had more large ads, with the Toronto Sun being relatively diverse in advertisement size. An examination of

the page number of the article was also compared to the type of goods advertised with the article to see if there was any correlation between these variables. Although a variety of goods were analyzed, overlap between the papers occurred with four types of advertisements.

Table 3

Page Number Distribution, by Advertisements, by Paper

Toronto Star

Goods>				
Pg #	Car	Clothing	Other	Various
1				
2-10	12	12	24	9
11-20	7	11	17	3
>20	4	5	1	
Other Sec.	1	1		
Column>	24	29	42	12

Table 3.1

Page Number Distribution, by Advertisements, by Paper

Toronto Sun

Goods>				
Pg #	Car	Clothing	Other	Various
1				
2-10	1	6	4	3
11-20	19	20	2	7
>20	11	11	12	40

Other Sec.	11	1	4	21
Column>	42	17	38	71

Table 3.2

Page Number Distribution, by Advertisements, by Paper
Globe and Mail

Goods>				
Pg #	Car	Clothing	Other	Various
1				
2-10	1	3	3	5
11-20		1		1
>20				2
Other				
Column>	1	4	3	8

The type of Goods were also analyzed regardless of the page number on which they appeared.

Table 4

Type of Goods Advertised, by Paper

Goods>							
Paper	Car	Electronics	Clothing	Furniture	Banks	Other	Various
Star	24	16	29	3	7	42	12
Sun	42	17	38	22	6	22	71
Globe	1	3	4	1	2	3	8

	67	36	71	26	15	67	8
--	----	----	----	----	----	----	---

The rest (48.9%) of the articles did not accompany an advertisement. Although the "other" category is relatively large, it would be impossible to list all the different goods advertised in the three newspapers. Within this category this is little overlap between papers. For example, the Toronto Sun had repeated advertisements for a China Warehouse which was placed in this category, while the Globe and Mail had advertisements for a variety of consultant firms. The original seven categories were determined by analyzing the first two weeks of August in the Toronto Star and the Globe and Mail. Advertisements in these papers were counted and the advertisements which occurred most often were then used to analyze the rest of the papers.

The use of pictures by each paper is outlined below. The unrelated category encompasses any pictures which were placed directly beside, above or within the police articles.

Table 5

Use of Pictures, by Paper

Pictures>

Paper	None	One	>One	unrelated	Totals
Star	189	85	10	8	293
Sun	200	121	28	20	369

Globe	54	9		5	68
Column>	443	216	38	33	730

The Toronto Sun used more than one picture most often while the Globe and Mail never used more than one picture.

However, the Globe and Mail was most likely to use an unrelated picture in comparison to the other two papers.

Plus the Toronto Sun was the most likely out of the three papers to use a picture.

An analysis of the picture use and the page number of the article provided interesting results.

Table 5.1

Picture use by Page Number by Paper

Toronto Star

Pictures>

Page No.	None	One	>one	unrelated	total
1	14	6			20
2-10	114	57	7	6	184
11-20	39	12	2		53
>20	14	5		1	20
other sec	8	6	1	1	16
	189	86	10	8	293

Table 5.2

Picture use by Page Number by Paper

Toronto Sun

Pictures>

Page No	None	one	>one	unrelated	total
1		4			4
2-10	39	63	18	15	135
11-20	44	17	6	5	72
>20	77	27	4		108
other sec	40	10			50
	200	121	28	20	369

Table 5.3

Picture use by Page Number by Paper

Globe and Mail

Pictures>

Page No	none	one	>one	unrelated	total
1	5				5
2-10	16	3		2	21
11-20	29	6		2	37
>20	4			1	5
other sec					
	54	9		5	68

The Toronto Star had a picture accompanying a front page headline 6 out of 20 articles, while the Toronto Sun always had a picture accompanying a front page story. The Globe and Mail in contrast never had a picture accompanying a front page headline.

The article's placement upon the page was also

examined.

Table 6

Placement by Paper

Papers>

Placement	Star	Sun	Globe	Total
top left	71	113	10	194
top right	36	26	8	70
top centre	19	42	3	64
mid left	39	21	10	70
mid right	30	10	9	49
mid centre	28	4	6	38
bottom left	24	34	5	63
bottom right	14	22	5	41
bottom cent	11		4	15
top ½	12	46	3	61
bottom ½	1	28		29
whole page	3	2		5
left ½	3	12	2	17
right ½	2	9	3	14
	293	369	68	730

Out of a total of 730 articles, 194 (26.4%) articles were placed within the top left corner, the next most common placement was either middle left (9.6%) or top right (9.6%).

Advertisement placement was also analyzed.

Table 7

Advertisement Placement by Paper

Placement	Star	Sun	Globe	Total
top left	1			1
top right				0
top centre				0
mid left		2		2
mid right				
mid centre		1	1	2
bottom left	3	3	4	10
bottom right	38	41	4	83
bottom cent	8		1	9
top ½				0
bottom ½	68	38	7	113
other		54	2	56
left ½	3	25	1	29
right ½	15	56	2	73
	293	369	68	730

The "other" category included advertisements which due to an odd shape or numerous advertisements on one page, covered an area which did not fit into any category. This occurred most often in the Toronto Sun (14.5%) and can also be explained by the high number of advertisements classified as "various" (11.4% see table 4).

Sources used by each paper is outlined below.

Table 8

Sources by Paper

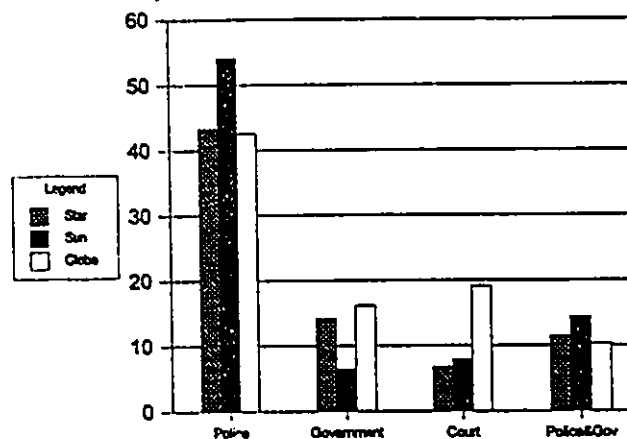
Papers>

Source	Star	Sun	Globe	Total
Police	127	200	29	356
Public	12	12	1	25
Government	42	24	11	77
Court	20	29	13	62
Journalist	6	17	3	26
Police&Publ	29	22	4	55
Police&Cour	4	8		12
Police&govt	34	53	7	94
Gov't&Court	7	2		9
Other	12	2		14
	293	369	68	730

This bar chart illustrates the top 4 sources for each paper. The Toronto Sun used government sources less often than the other two papers, while the

Globe and Mail used court sources more often than the other two papers. Overall police sources accounted for 48.8% of articles. If combined police sources (i.e. police and public, police and government, and police and court) are included the percentage of articles which use police sources

Top Sources for Each Paper



jumps to 70.8%.

The source was also cross analyzed with the page number of the articles.

Table 8.1

Source by Page Number

Toronto Star

Page Number>

Source	1	2-10	11-20	>20	Other S	Total
police	8	75	28	9	7	127
public	1	10			1	12
governm	3	29	6	1	3	42
court	1	8	4	5	2	20
journ		6				6
pol&Pub		17	9	2	1	29
pol&cou		2		1	1	4
pol&gov	6	24	3		1	34
gov&cou	1	3	2	1		7
other	1	8	4	5	2	12
	20	184	53	20	16	293

Table 8.2

Source by Page Number

Toronto Sun

Page Number>

Source	Front	2-10	11-20	>20	Other S	Total
police	2	59	41	65	33	200

public		5	2	3	2	12
governm		12	3	7	2	24
court		2	5	16	6	29
journ	1	12	2		2	17
pol&Pub		11	5	5	1	22
pol&cou		2	4	2		8
pol&gov	1	31	9	8	4	53
gov&cou				4		14.4
other		1	1			2
	4	135	72	108	50	369

Table 8.3

Source by Page Number

Globe and Mail

Page Number>

Source	Front	2-10	11-20	>20	Other S	Total
police	2	10	16	1		29
public			1			1
governm	2	3	5	1		11
court		4	9			13
journ			1	2		3
pol&Pub	1	1	1	1		4
pol&cou						
pol&gov		3	4			7
gov&cou						
other						
	5	21	37	5		68

The Toronto Star listed the police or the police and government, as the source for 70% of its front page articles. Articles with the source listed as journalists (did not list a source other than the journalist) were placed in the first 10 pages of the Toronto Star while, the Globe and Mail were never in the first 10 pages.

The source listed in the article was also cross tabulated with the use of pictures.

Table 9

Source by Picture Use

Toronto Star

Picture>

Source	none	one	>one	unrelated	total
police	81	40	4	2	127
public	4	6	1	1	12
gov't	28	10	2	2	42
court	14	6			20
journalis	4	2			6
pol&Publi	17	11		1	29
pol&court	2		1	1	4
pol&gov't	25	7	1	1	34
gov&court	5	1	1		7
other	9	3			12
	189	86	10	8	293

Table 9.1

Source by Picture Use

Toronto Sun

Picture>

Source	none	one	>one	unrelated	total
police	126	60	9	5	200
public	7	3	2		12
gov't	7	15	2		24
court	18	8	1	2	29
journalis	12	3		2	17
pol&Publi	9	8	4	1	22
pol&court	3	3	2		8
pol&gov't	15	20	8	10	53
gov&court	2				2
other	1	1			2
	200	121	28	20	369

Table 9.2

Source by Picture Use

Globe and Mail

Picture>

Source	none	one	>one	unrelated	total
police	22	7			29
public	1				1
gov't	10			1	11
court	12			1	13
journalis	2	1			3
pol&Publi	3			1	4
pol&court					0

pol&gov't	4	1		2	7
gov&court					0
other					
	54	9		5	68

The Toronto Star when using the public as a source had a picture accompanying the article 58% of the time. The Toronto Sun in comparison used pictures most often with police and government sources (52.7%). The Globe and Mail used pictures rarely, regardless of source.

The number of words used in the headlines of the papers varied.

Table 10

Length by Paper

Length>

	1-5 words	6-10 words	>10 words	total
Star	87	182	24	293
Sun	251	115	3	42
Globe	42	24	2	68
	380	321	29	730

The Toronto Star had a headline longer than 5 words 70.2% of the time. The Toronto Sun in contrast had a headline five words or less 68% of the time. The Globe and Mail also had shorter headlines of 5 words or less 61.7% of the time.

The length of the headline was also cross tabulated with the page number of the article.

Table 10.1

Length by Page Number by Paper

Toronto Star

Page No.>

Length	front	2-10	11-20	>20	Other S	Total
1-5	4	54	18	3	8	87
6-10	14	116	30	16	6	182
>10	2	14	5	1	2	24
	20	184	53	20	16	293

Table 10.2

Length by Page Number by Paper

Toronto Sun

Page No.>

Length	front	2-10	11-20	>20	other S	Total
1-5	2	85	53	76	35	251
6-10	1	49	19	31	15	115
>10	1	1		1		3
	4	135	72	108	50	369

Table 10.3

Length by Page Number by Paper

Globe and Mail

Page No.>

Length	front	2-10	11-20	>20	other S	Total
1-5	3	11	25	3		42
6-10	1	10	11		2	24
>10	1		1			2
	5	21	37	5		68

The Toronto Star had the longest front page headlines, while the Globe and Mail used short headlines most often in its front page headlines.

Length and the tone of the article is outlined by each paper below.

Table 10.4

Length by Tone by Paper

Toronto Star

Tone>

Length	balanced	negative	positive	Total
1-5	26	38	23	87
6-10	52	71	59	182
>10	2	13	9	24
	80	122	91	293

Table 10.5

Length by Tone by Paper

Toronto Sun

Tone>

Length	balanced	negative	positive	Total
1-5	57	81	113	251
6-10	21	44	50	115
>10		1	2	3
	78	126	165	369

Table 10.6

Length by Tone By Paper

Globe and Mail

Tone>

Length	balanced	negative	positive	Total
1-5	5	20	17	42
6-10	12	8	4	24
>10	1		1	2
	18	28	22	68

The Toronto Star when it used headlines longer than 10 words, the tone of that headline was most often negative (54%). The Globe and Mail in contrast when using headlines longer than 10 words were either positive or balanced. The Toronto Sun only had 3 headlines longer than 10 words, 2 of which were negative.

The number of words in the cutlines beneath pictures were also counted in each paper.

Table 11

Cutline by Paper

Length>

Paper	1-5	6-10	11-15	>15	none	Total
Star	25	19	18	40	191	293
Sun	78	29	20	41	201	369
Globe	6	1	2	5	54	68
	109	49	40	86	446	730

Out of 730 articles there were 284 cutlines. The usual cutline length for the Toronto Star was >15 words (39.2%). Cutline length in the Toronto Sun was most often 1-5 words (46.4%). The Globe and Mail had cutlines either 1-5 words in length (42.9%) or more than 15 words (35.7%).

The number of direct, or paraphrased quotes were also counted for each paper.

Table 12

Use of Quotes for Paper

Quote>

Paper	direct	paraphrased	none	Total
Star	37	75	181	293
Sun	29	49	291	369
Globe	4	18	46	68
	70	142	518	730

Quotes were not commonly used by any of the papers. However, paraphrased quotes were more common than direct. The Toronto Sun is used quotes the least out of the three

papers. The Globe and Mail used quotes most often (47.8%).

Use of quotes was compared with use of pictures.

Table 12.1

Quote by Picture

Toronto Star

Picture>

Quote	no pict.	one pict.	>one	unrelated	Total
direct	18	14	4	1	37
paraphras	45	26	1	3	75
no quote	126	46	5	4	181
	189	86	10	8	293

Table 12.2

Quote by Picture

Toronto Sun

Picture>

Quote	no pict.	one pict.	>one	unrelated	Total
direct	10	13	3	3	29
paraphras	21	18	5	5	49
no quote	169	90	20	12	291
	200	121	28	20	369

Table 12.3

Quote by Picture

Globe and Mail

Picture>

Quote	no pict.	one pict.	>one	unrelated	Total
direct	2		2		4
paraphras	14	2	2		18
no quote	38	7	1		46
	54	9	5		68

The Toronto Star had a picture accompanying a headline which contained a direct quote half of the time (48.6%). The Toronto Sun had a picture accompanying a headline with a direct quote 44.8% of the time, and the Globe and Mail never had a picture accompany a headline with a direct quote.

Sources were cross tabulated by quotes in the headline.

Table 12.4

Source by Quote by Paper

Toronto Star

Quote>

Source	direct	paraphr	none	Total
Police	18	33	76	127
Public	3	2	7	12
Gov't	7	18	17	42
Court	3	3	14	20
Journ.			6	6
Pol&Pub	1	10	18	29
Pol&Cou		1	3	4
Pol&Gov	3	6	25	34
Gov&Cou	1		6	7

Other	1	2	9	12
	37	75	181	293

Table 12.5

Quote by Source by Paper

Toronto Sun

Quote>

Source	direct	paraphr	none	Total
Police	10	18	172	200
Public	2	4	6	12
Gov't	3	5	16	24
Court	4	6	19	29
Journ.		1	16	17
Pol&Pub	2	3	17	22
Pol&Cou	3	1	4	8
Pol&Gov	4	11	38	53
Gov&Cou			2	2
Other	1		1	2
	29	49	291	369

Table 12.6

Quote by Source by Paper

Globe and Mail

Quote>

Source	direct	paraphr	none	Total
Police	1	6	22	29
Public			1	1

Gov't		6	5	11
Court	2	3	8	13
Journ.			3	3
Pol&Pub		2	2	4
Pol&Cou				
Pol&Gov	1	1	5	7
Gov&Cou				
Other				
	4	18	46	68

The Toronto Star used quotes in the headlines 59.5%, for articles which used government sources, while police sources had only had quotes in the headlines 40% of the time. The Toronto Sun in contrast had the largest number of headline quotes when articles used public sources (50%), Government sources in the Globe and Mail articles had a quote in the headline 54.4% of the time.

The tone for the headlines of each paper is outlined in the following cross tabulation.

Table 13

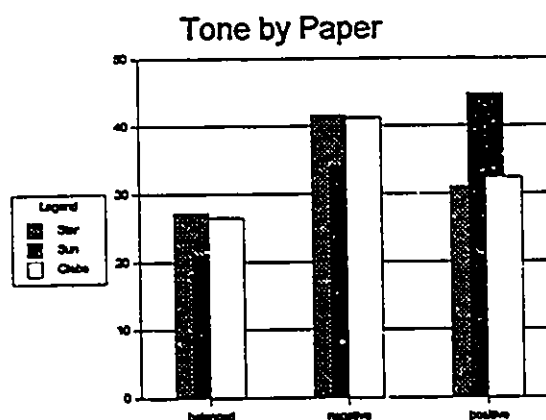
Tone by Paper

Tone>

Paper	balanced	negative	positive	Total
Star	80	122	91	293
Sun	78	126	165	369

Globe	19	28	22	69
	176	276	278	730

A balanced tone in headlines occurred 24.1%, negative 37.8% and positive 38.1%. The slight differences between papers is illustrated in the bar chart. The Toronto Star contained the largest percentage of negative headlines (41.6%). The Globe and Mail had negative headlines 41.2% of the time. The Toronto Sun in contrast had positive headlines 44.7% of the time.



Headline tone was also cross examined with the source of the article.

Table 13.1

Tone by Source by Paper

Toronto Star

Tone>

Source	balanced	negative	positive	Total
police	50	15	62	127
public	2	8	2	12
government	6	30	6	42

court	3	14	3	20
journalist		6		6
police&publ	8	14	7	29
police&cour	1	2	1	4
police&govt	6	23	5	34
govt&court	2	3	2	7
Other	2	7	3	12
	80	122	91	293

Table 13.2

Tone by Source by Paper

Toronto Sun

Tone>

Source	balanced	negative	positive	Total
police	58	17	125	200
public	1	10	1	12
government	5	18	1	24
court	3	20	6	29
journalist	1	6	10	17
police&publ	3	11	8	22
police&cour		6	2	8
police&govt	6	36	11	53
govt&court		2		2
Other	1		1	2
	78	126	165	369

Table 13.3

Tone by Source by Paper

Globe and Mail

Tone>

Source	balanced	negative	positive	Total
police	13	4	12	29
public			1	1
government	2	8	1	11
court	1	9	3	13
journalist				
police&publ		1	3	4
police&cour				
police&govt	1	4	2	7
govt&court				
Other				
	18	28	22	68

Police sources were rarely accompanied by a negative headline, unless they were combined with other sources (i.e. police and government).

The tone of the headline and the page number on which the article appeared was compared for each paper.

Table 14

Tone by Page Number by Paper

Toronto Star

Page No.>

Tone	front	2-10	11-20	>20	other s	Total
Balance	4	48	17	5	6	80
negativ	12	76	22	9	3	122

positiv	4	60	14	6	7	91
	20	184	53	20	16	293

Table 14.1

Tone by Page Number by Paper

Toronto Sun

Page No.>

Tone	front	2-10	11-20	>20	other s	Total
Balance	1	24	14	24	15	78
negativ	1	61	21	32	11	126
positiv	2	50	37	52	24	165
	4	135	72	108	50	369

Table 14.2

Tone by Source by Paper

Globe and Mail

Page No.>

Tone	front	2-10	11-20	>20	other s	Total
Balance	1	8	9			18
negativ	2	7	16	3		28
positiv	2	6	12	2		22
	5	21	37	5		68

The Toronto Star seemed more evenly distributed by tone the further the articles were placed within the paper. The Toronto Sun, which was overall more positive than the other two papers , concentrated its negative articles on pages two

to ten. The Globe and Mail was pretty much evenly distributed.

The number of articles per page was also examine.

Table 15.1

Number of Police Articles per Page by Paper

No. of Articles>

Paper	1 article	2 article	3 article	>3 articl	Total
Star	178	78	21	16	293
Sun	308	58	3		369
Globe & M	37	16	15		68
	523	152	39	16	730

The Toronto Star was the only newspaper to have more than 3 articles on one page.

The number of articles per page was also cross examined with the tone of the headlines.

Table 15.2

Number of Police Articles per Page by Tone by Paper

Toronto Star

No. of Articles>

Tone	1 article	2 article	3 article	>3 articl	Total
balanced	49	23	5	3	80
negative	72	33	7	10	122
positive	57	22	9	3	91
	178	78	21	16	293

Table 15.3

Number of Police Articles per Page by Tone by Paper

Toronto Sun

No. of Articles>

Tone	1 article	2 article	3 article	>3 articl	Total
balanced	68	10			78
negative	103	22	1		126
positive	137	26	2		165
	308	58	3		369

Table 15.4

Number of Police Articles per Page by Tone by Paper

Globe and Mail

No. of Articles>

Tone	1 article	2 article	3 article	>3 articl	Total
balanced	11	4	3		18
negative	16	5	7		28
positive	10	7	5		22
	37	16	15		68

Discussion and Conclusions

The newspapers had a variety of similarities as well as differences. The variables examined presented an illustration of the unique qualities of each paper.

The page numbers of all the police articles demonstrated the importance newspapers place upon law and order stories. The majority of articles were placed within the first ten pages, with 29 front page articles and 340 articles on 2-10 pages. The only paper that differed significantly from this placement was the Globe and Mail. Rather than disperse police articles throughout the paper the Globe and Mail concentrated its police articles in 11-20 pages, and placed no police articles in any sections other than the first. Since the Globe and Mail is a national newspaper, more emphasis was placed upon politics and national issues (i.e., the referendum received extensive coverage during this time).

Advertisements were also examined. The Globe and Mail had the smallest number of advertisements. Articles were accompanied by an advertisement 32.2%. The smaller number of advertisements in the Globe and Mail was an expected result. Since the Globe and Mail has a content that is largely political or business oriented, the potential audience for advertisements is more likely affluent. National advertisement capacity as well as the desirable audience means that the newspaper can charge more for the advertisements and have fewer advertisements.¹² This explanation holds true when examining the difference between

¹²For example, the Globe and Mail ran a full page *Danier Leather* advertisement in every issue. No such comparison can be found in the other papers.

the Toronto Star and Toronto Sun. The Toronto Sun had advertisements accompanying police articles 59.1% of the time, and the Toronto Star had advertisements 46% of the time. This difference in the use of ads and the goods advertised will correspond to the type of police stories featured in the paper. The publishers must sell their newspapers by appealing to the audiences which buy their paper.

The use of pictures was also examined in each paper. The Toronto Sun used the most pictures (46%) and the Globe and Mail used the least pictures (20.5%) when publishing police news stories. This is not surprising, since the Toronto Sun prides itself on its tabloid style. Paul Godfrey explains the necessity of presenting a tabloid style of paper.

The newspaper industry's major challenge is to lure the young person into becoming a newspaper reader . . . Compared to our tabloids, the traditional newspapers are going to have a much greater problem . . . Our newspapers are better suited to the lifestyles of the 21st century. (Dalglish 1992, 30)

By using pictures rather than words the Toronto Sun can present a more colourful and sensationalist newspaper, which is demanded by their readers.

Since pictures draw attention to an article the more pictures accompanying a police article the more likely a reader will stop browsing and look at the picture. If there are two articles on the same page the one with the picture is most likely to be noticed and read. This is especially

important when examining the use of unrelated pictures. These pictures were not related to the police story it accompanied. That does not mean that the picture was not of police, but rather not of the incident outlined in the story. For example an article about the police protest might be accompanied by a picture of an officer helping the public, or even holding a child.¹³ Surprisingly, the Globe and Mail had the largest percentage of unrelated pictures (7.4%). "The selection of photos is significant, for a picture sends a cue about how to view an article before we actually read it" (Lee and Solomon 1992, 47). By using unrelated pictures a newspaper could manipulate the meaning of an article or draw reader attention to an article which might not have been originally of interest.

The trend of picture use continued throughout the papers regardless of page numbers. The Globe and Mail never had a picture accompanying its front page stories, while the Toronto Sun always had a picture accompanying a front page article. The Toronto Star fell half way in between having a picture accompany six out of 20 front page articles.

Where an article is placed can also denote importance. An article which is placed in the top left corner of an English newspaper is most likely to be read since all English books are read from left to right and top to bottom.

¹³For the unrelated picture of an officer holding a child see: Globe and Mail September 1992, p A20.

When the reader opens a newspaper or book, it is habit to start at the top left corner. Out of 730 articles, 194 were placed in the top-left corner of the page. The next two most common places a police article would be found are either in the top right corner or mid-page on the left-hand side.

If this premise holds true then advertisements would rarely be placed in those spaces, since the newspaper is not a catalogue, but rather puts itself forward as an informative service for the public. One does not buy a newspaper to read only advertisements. Out of 347 advertisements noted in the study, only one was placed in the top left, only two in the mid left and none in the top right. The majority of advertisements were half a page in size and found at the bottom of the page.

An examination of the sources of the police articles corresponded with previous research. "The overwhelming majority of stories are based on official sources" (Lee and Solomon 1992, 17). Out of 730 articles the police were listed as the only source in 356 articles (48.4%). The police, in effect, can have impact and limited control over what is reported, simply by deciding what to tell the press. Even when other sources are used, police sources are usually consulted. What this means is that police have an unequal advantage when a conflict comes to the press since they may choose to remain silent, or give out only partial

information. In this study the public was consulted in 7.5% of all articles on the police and listed as the only source in only 3.4% of articles. This provides the newspapers with a one-sided story mostly supplied by the police. If we allowed criminals to write all news articles surrounding their actions the resulting public perception would be slightly distorted. The same can be said about police stories in the press.

The use of pictures was then cross examined with the source listed in the article. It was interesting to note that the Toronto Star when using the public as a source, had a picture accompanying the article 58% of the time. (Police sources had pictures only 37% of the time). The Toronto Sun in comparison used pictures most often with police and government sources (52.7%). The Globe and Mail used pictures rarely regardless of source.

The headline length was expected to differ among the three papers. The Toronto Star had a headline longer than five words 70.2% of the time. In contrast, the Toronto Sun had headlines five words or less 68% of the time. Surprisingly, the Globe and Mail also had shorter headlines of less than six words 61.7% of the time. Shorter headlines were expected in the Toronto Sun since it has a tabloid style and shorter headlines are usually more direct sensationalist and attention grabbing. For example, *Man shot*, rather than *Weapon accidentally discharges and injures*

man while hunting. The fact that the Globe and Mail used shorter headlines was unexpected.

In an attempt to explain this anomaly page number was also analyzed by length of the headline. To see if the pages on which the headline appeared had any bearing on the length of headline used. The Toronto Star still had the longest headlines regardless of page, even front page stories were most often 6-10 words long. Although the Globe and Mail did use more short than long headlines on the front page, the majority of short headlines fell on pages 11-20.

The length of the headline and the tone of the headline then compared to see if there was any correlation. The Toronto Star had mostly negative headlines despite length. The Toronto Sun had more positive headlines regardless of length. The Globe and Mail had mostly negative headlines, yet, when the headlines were longer than five words, the headlines were more often balanced or even positive. It would have been valuable to see if the headline tone matches the tone of the article, if the time had been available.

Cutline length was also examined. The cutlines were usually less than six words long in the Toronto Sun. The Globe and Mail used cutlines of either less than six words or more than 15 words with only 3 out of 14 cutlines between 6 and 15 words long. Yet, in the Toronto Star the cutlines were most often longer than 5 words. There were cases of pictures being placed on a page without an article,

unfortunately these pictures were unanticipated and not included in this study.

When examining the use of quotes in the headlines by the newspapers, it became apparent that the use of quotes was not common. However, paraphrased quotes were more common than direct. The Toronto Sun used the least quotes out of the three papers only 21.1% out of all the headlines. The Toronto Star used the largest percentage of quotes (38.2%). Since the use of quotes, especially from official sources, increases the credibility of the article in the eyes of the public, it is understandable that the Toronto Sun tabloid format would not necessarily demand the same level of "official credibility" as the other two papers.

The use of quotes was also compared to the use of pictures to see if the person quoted might have been photographed or if the event might be more often photographed when quotes were used in the headline. In the Toronto Star a direct quotation was accompanied by a picture 51.4% and a paraphrased quotation was accompanied by a picture 38.7% of the time. The Toronto Sun had a picture accompanying a paraphrased quote 57.1% of the time. The Globe and Mail in contrast, very rarely used pictures with quotes, however, out of the four headlines that contained a direct quote two had an unrelated picture.

The source of an article was also cross examined with the use of quotes in the headlines. Direct quotes were used

in the Toronto Star for every source, except those articles which listed no source, and those which used the combined police and court sources. The Toronto Sun did not use direct quotes for journalist sources or the combined government and court sources. The Globe and Mail only used direct quotes for police, court, and the combined sources of police and government. As well, government sources were quoted 54.4% in Globe and Mail headlines. Generally, the public was rarely quoted in headlines.

The general tone of the headline was compared among the three papers. Overall, the papers were relatively evenly distributed between negative and positive with fewer headlines having a balanced tone. Both the Toronto Star and the Globe and Mail had the largest percentage of negative headlines, 41.6% and 41.2% respectively. The Toronto Sun in contrast had positive headlines 44.7% of the time.

When source was cross examined with tone, each paper displayed slight differences. When the police were listed as the source for the article in the Toronto Star, 11.8% of the articles had negative headlines. In contrast, when the government was listed as the source, 71.4% of the articles had a negative headline. Court sources also had negative headlines 70% of the time. All six articles written by journalists (those not listing a source) were negative.

The Toronto Sun when it used the police as the source of the article only 8.5% of the headlines were negative.

Public sources had a negative headline 83% of the time. Articles which listed no source (journalist) had positive headlines 59% of the time. Government sources were accompanied by negative headlines 75% of the time.

The Globe and Mail had negative headlines accompanying only 13.7% of articles that listed the police as a source. Articles that used court sources had a negative headline 73% of the time. Two out of three articles that failed to list a source were negative.

In articles which used court or government sources were usually accompanied by negative headlines. While, articles that listed the police as the sources were generally accompanied by positive sources. This demonstrates the importance which source places upon the portrayal of the event.

The page upon which negative, positive or balanced headlines are placed illustrated a pattern for each individual newspaper. The Toronto Star had a negative headline on the front page 60% of the time. However, the Toronto Sun had positive headlines on the front page 50% of the time. The Globe and Mail had equal number of negative and positive headlines on the front page. This distribution of headlines over the newspapers was expected since the overall tone for these papers was similarly distributed.

The only case where there was deviation from this pattern was in sections other than "A" of the Toronto Star

which were more often positive than negative. So even though the Toronto Star had the most negative headlines about the police than the other two papers, it did balance these headlines in other sections of the paper. However, the number of people who read these headlines is less than the front section, leaving the skimming reader with an overall negative picture of the police.

The Toronto Sun although the most positive of the three papers had the majority (45.2%) of its negative headlines on pages two to ten. This was unexpected, since the Toronto Sun had consistently more positive headlines than negative headlines in all other sections of the paper. So, although the paper could be said to be the most positive out of the three papers, headline distribution would suggest that there is still relevance placed upon events that can be portrayed negatively.

The number of articles which appeared on one page were also analyzed. The Toronto Star was the only paper to have more than three articles per page, yet the Globe and Mail was the most likely to have more than one article per page. The Toronto Sun combined articles the least. Tone was also cross examined with the number of police articles appearing on one page. the Toronto Star had mostly negative headlines overall, yet, 9 out of 21 headlines were positive on the pages which had 3 articles per page. However, when the number of articles exceed three, the majority of headlines

are again negative. The results could be spurious since a trend of headline tone was not maintained. The Toronto Sun remained mostly positive despite the number of articles found on the page. The Globe and Mail was fairly well balanced with slightly more positive headlines occurring on pages which contained 2 articles.

Contractions and nicknames are used by a newspaper to make it sound more intimate and informal with the readers. The Toronto Sun made the most use of these words out of the three papers. Nicknames such as "Mounties", "Coppers" and "Brits" were dispersed throughout the paper with the exception of the first page. The Toronto Sun also used the slang word "Cop" to describe the police in 250 articles out of 369. This was a unique characteristic of the Toronto Sun, the Toronto Star only used "Cops" once and the Globe and Mail never used this term. The only nickname which was used in all three papers was "Mountie" perhaps suggesting the public acceptance of this term. Statistics were only used once, by the Toronto Star.

Relevance structuring refers to the way a sentence is phrased. By placing certain words at the front of a sentence, meaning and context can be changed. Omission of agent occurs when a statement fails to mention the actor involved in an event. All three papers had headlines which failed to mention the agent of an act. There were 14 agentless headlines in the Toronto Sun, three in the Toronto

Star and three in the Globe and Mail. The omission of agent could have been done for the sake of saving space, or to leave responsibility of actions unspecified. The Globe and Mail and the Toronto Sun have been noted for their use of short headlines, brevity could be the motivation for deleting an agent from the headline, yet the impact of the agentless sentence should be taken into account.

The tone of the headline was compared to the omission of agent in an effort to answer this question. The Toronto Sun was fairly well distributed with five positive, three balanced and six negative headlines. The Toronto Star had two negative and one balanced agentless headlines. Only 3 agentless headlines were found in the Globe and Mail. These headlines were equally distributed, one negative, one positive and one balanced. The ability of these headlines to be more positive by eliminating responsibility was not proven evident in this study.

With the police protest occurring between the police officers (union) and the government, it is interesting to note the tone of the headlines when the combined police and government sources were listed. In the Toronto Star the articles using police and government sources, the headline was negative toward the police in 67.7% of cases. In the Toronto Sun, which was predominantly positive, when police and government were listed as sources, the headline was negative 67.9% of the time. In the Globe and Mail, the most

equally distributed in headline tone, when the police and government were listed as the sources the headlines were also negative 57.1% of the time. So, when it came to the perception of the police and the government, the newspapers were most likely to portray the police negatively.

The largest difference between the papers and their headline tone occurred in those articles which listed no sources. In the Toronto Star all such headlines were negative, while in the Toronto Sun, 10 out of 17 headlines were positive. The Globe and Mail did not use articles that failed to list a source. This can again be connected to the desire for credibility. The Toronto Sun had 17 articles which listed no sources, the Toronto Star had six and the Globe and Mail had none. Considering the tabloid nature of the Toronto Sun it is understandable that the need to use legitimate sources may not be considered important. In contrast, the Globe and Mail has the reputation of being Canada's national newspaper to create the need to use legitimate sources.

Depending upon which newspaper is read, the perception of the police will vary.

Analysts often wonder whether mass media shape public opinion or merely reflect it. Coverage of the Gulf crisis showed that U.S. news media primarily reflect the opinions of official Washington, thereby shaping public opinion. (Lee and Soloman 1992, xxiii).

To assume that the Canadian news media are different from the United States is naive. Globalization and the influence

of the U.S. upon Canadian media is well documented.¹⁴ Each newspaper differed in the overall view of the police. General support was expressed in headlines for the government over the police in all papers. While the transmission of ideology may be the result of media coverage, this is accomplished in a variety of ways. "Very broadly, the weight of images portrayed by the mass media will be supportive of the existing social order in any relatively stable society" (Reiner 1992, 173).

The fact that the media relied upon the police as a source in 48.8% (70.8% if combined sources are included) of all 730 articles is disturbing. Although two out of three papers contained largely negative headlines, the police are still controlling the limits of debate. They can use their influence to help determine what is written about and more importantly what is not. Only in a few cases is the media stepping outside the boundaries placed by the police and government. The public was listed as a source in only 3.4% of articles.

The media is not truly *policing the police*, nor is it providing a public service since it rarely even considers public participation important. The media is printing what the police, government and courts want them to print. While ideology may not be passed on blatantly, the constant

¹⁴See: Singer, B.D. (1983). Communications in Canadian Society. Don Mills: Addison Wesley Publishers.

reliance upon *official sources* makes the equal debate of ideas impossible.

References

- Baldwin, Elizabeth. 1977. "The Mass media and the Corporate Elite," *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. Winter, 2.1: (1-27).
- Bocock, Robert. 1986. *Hegemony*. New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Brasch, W. and D. Ulloth. 1986. *The Press and the State*. Lanham, MD.: University Press of America.
- Budd, R., Robert Thorp and Lewis Donohew. 1967. *Content Analysis of Communication*. New York: Macmillian Publication Co.
- Brown, K. 1986. "Classification and Obfuscation," in *The Press and The State*. (Eds.) Brasch and Ulloth. New York: University Press of America.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1992. *Chronicles of Dissent*. Vancouver: New Star Books.
- Clarke, H. 1987. *Political Elites in Anglo American Democracies*. Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Clement, W. 1975. *The Canadian Corporate Elite*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Clement, W. and G. Williams. 1989. *The New Canadian Political Economy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Creel, G. 1986. "Wartime Censorship," in *The Press and The State*. (Eds.) Brasch and Ulloth. New York: University Press of America.
- Curran, James. 1980. "Advertising as a Patronage System," *The Sociology of Journalism and the Press*. Sociological Review Monograph 29. Keele, Stradfordshire: University of Keele.
- Curran, James and J. Seaton. 1980. *Power Without Responsibility*. London: Fontana Publishers.
- Curran, James et al.,. 1986. *Bending Reality: The State and the Media*. London: Pluto Press.

- Dalglish, Brenda. 1992. "Black Power." *Macleans*, August 3, pp.27-30.
- Davey, Kieth. 1970. *Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, voll, The Uncertain Mirror*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- Day, David. 1984. *Portrayal of Mental illness in the Media*. Windsor: University of Windsor (Thesis).
- Dussuyer, Inez. 1979. *Crime News: A Study of 40 Ontario Newspapers*. Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.
- Ellul, J. 1965. *Propoganda :The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 6, p. 269.
- Ericson, Richard. 1991. "Mass Media, Crime, Law and Justice," *The British Journal of Criminology*. 31, Summer, 219-249.
- Ericson, Richard, Patricia Baranek and Janet Chan. 1989. Negotiating Control. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Fishman, Mark. 1978. "Crime Waves as Ideology," *Social Problems*, 25: (531-543).
- , 1980. *Manufacturing the News*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fowler, Roger. 1991. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. New York: Routledge.
- Garnham, Nicholas. 1979. "Contribution to a Political Economy of Mass Communication," *Media, Culture and Society*, 1, (2).
- Glover, David. 1984. *The Sociology of the Mass Media*. Lancashire, England : Causeway Press Ltd.
- Gordon, M. and L. Heath. 1981. "The News Business, Crime and Fear." *Reactions to Crime*. (Ed.) D. Lewis. Beverley Hills: Sage. pp. 227-50.
- Graber, Doris. 1980. *Crime News and the Public*. New York: Praeger.
- Hannigan, John A. 1983. "Ideology, Elites and the Canadian Mass Media," *Communcation in Canadian Society*. Ed. Benjamin Singer, Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley

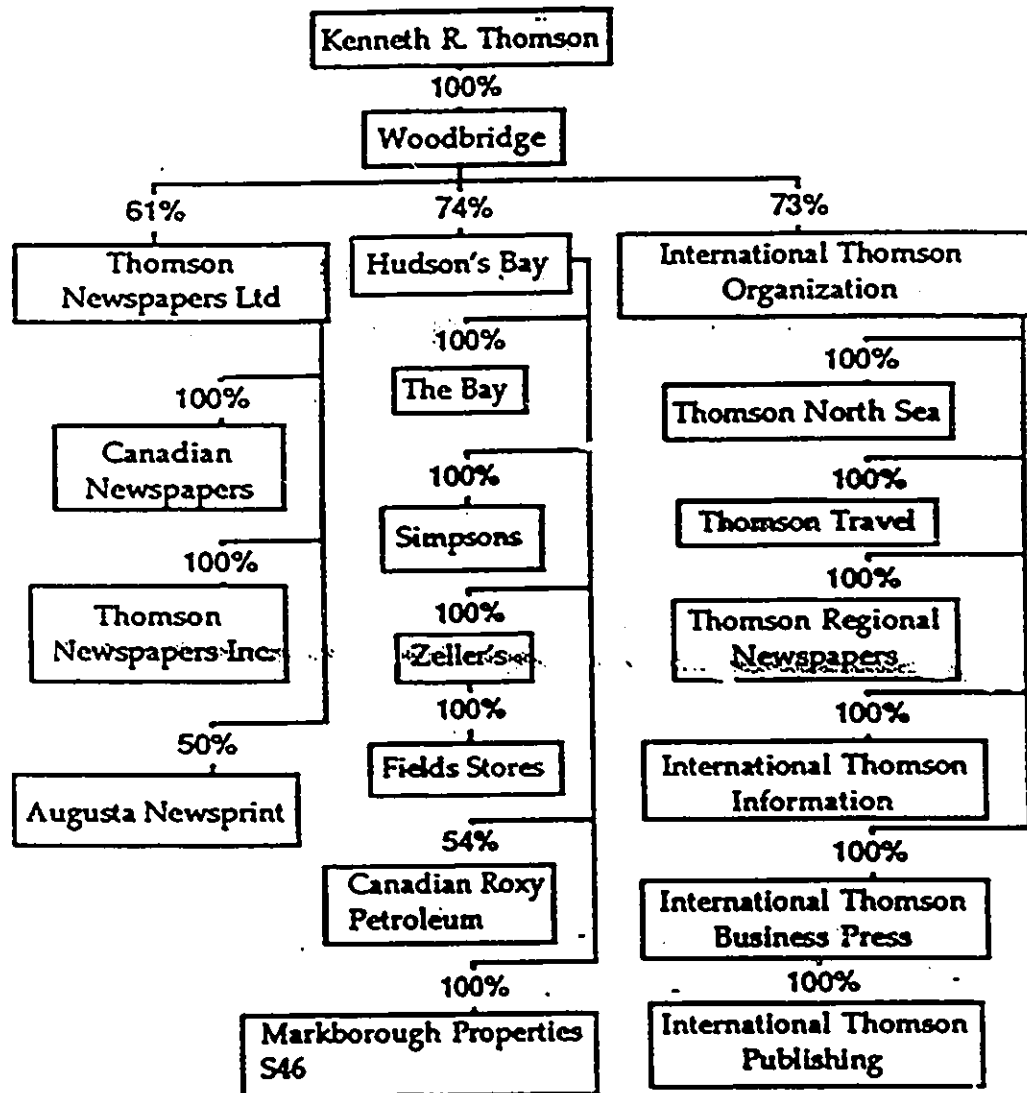
Publishers.

- Hoare, Q and G. Smith. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.
- Hovland, C., Lumsdaine, A., and Sheffield, F. 1949. *Experiments on Mass Communication*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University.
- Howlett, M and M. Ramesh. 1992. *The Political Economy of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Jackson, M. and C. Griffiths. 1991. *Canadian Criminology*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Jhally, Sut., Stephen Kline and William Leiss. 1985. "Magic in the Marketplace," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*. 9,3, Fall, (1-22).
- Katz, E. 1980. "On conceptualizing media effects," In T. McCormick, (ED.), *Studies in Communication*, Vol. 1. Greenwich, Conn: Jai Press.
- Kent, Tom et.al. 1981. *Royal Commission on Newspapers*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Canada.
- Lee, Martin A. and Norman Solomon. 1992. *Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in the News Media*. New York: Carol Publishing Group.
- Leiss, W., S. Kline and Sut Jhally. 1986. *Social Communication in Advertising*. Toronto: Methuen.
- Littlejohn, S. W. 1992. *Theories of Human Communication*. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Marx K. and F. Engels. 1947. *The German Ideology, Parts 1&3*. New York: International Publishers.
- Mercer, A. 1990. "Media Control in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*. 5,4, Summer, (350-364).
- McPhail, T. and B McPhail. 1990. *Communication: The Canadian Experience*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman.
- Nachmias, Chava, and David Nachmias. 1981. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Murdock, Graham. 1978. "Blindspots about Western Marxism: A Reply to Dallas Smythe," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*. Spring/Summer, 3:2.

- Parenti, M. 1986. *Inventing Reality*. New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press.
- Pasternal, Jack. 1975. *The Kitchener Market Fight*. Toronto: Samuel Stevens, Hakkert & Company.
- Porter, John. 1965. *The Vertical Mosaic*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Reiner, R. 1992. *Politics of the Police*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Roberts, D. and Christine Bachen. 1981. "Mass Communication Effects," *Annual Review of Psychology*. 32, (307-356).
- Samarajiwa, Rohan. 1983. "The Canadian Newspaper Industry and the Kent Commission: Rationalization and Response," *Studies in Political Economy*, 12, Fall, (121-152).
- Seacrest, T. C. 1983. "The Davey Report," *Communication in Canadian Society*. (Ed.) Benjamin Singer, Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley Publishers.
- Schlesinger, Phillip. 1983. *Televising Terrorism: Political Violence in Popular Culture*. London: Comedia.
- Shoemaker, Pamela and Stephen Reese. 1991. *Mediating the Message*. New York: Longman Press.
- Slyvester, Arthur. 1986. "An Inherent Right To Lie," in *The Press and The State*. (Eds.) Brasch and Ulloth. New York: University Press of America.
- Smythe, Dallas. 1977. "Communications: Blindspot of Western Marxism." *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, Fall, 1:3.
- . 1981. *Dependancy Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness and Canada*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Sparks, Colin and James Curran. 1992. "Press and Popular Culture," *Media Culture and Society*. 13,2, Apr, (215-237).
- Voumvakis, S. and R. Ericson. 1984. *News Accounts of Attacks on Women: A Comparison of Three Toronto Newspapers*. Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.

Appendix A

Thomsons' Concentration of Economic Power



(Source: *Financial Post 500*. Summer, 1986, p. 208)

Appendix B

Letter to the Editor from Now Magazine.

"Gunning For Fraud," Now. November 12-18, 1992.

GUNNING FOR FRAUD

NOW:

Our increasingly violent society concerns me very much, but giving police a blank cheque to draw their guns (i.e., not requiring them to complete a form when they do) concerns me even more — especially after an incident in which I was involved a couple of weeks ago.

I had been a potential victim of telephone fraud. When I reported the incident to my bank, they advised me to report it to the police — which I did.

After giving my report over the phone to the police constable, I remarked, "This kind of thing really doesn't make you feel good, does it?"

His reply?

"Yeah, if it was me, I'd shoot 'em all. A 25-cent bullet's too good for them."

I was stunned.

If this is his answer to fraud (which causes no bodily harm and is not life-threatening), can you imagine his reaction to other crimes?

Heather-Ann Brown
Toronto

VITA AUCTORIS

NAME: Julie Elizabeth Porter

PLACE OF BIRTH: Orangeville, Ontario, Canada

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1969

EDUCATION: Central Huron Secondary School
Clinton Ontario
1984-1988

University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario
1988-1992 Hons. B. A.

University of Windsor
Windsor Ontario
1992-1995 M.A.